

(Mr. PAYNE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, give the United Nations inspectors a chance. That is what the Lee amendment asks.

What does it do? It sets out the potential threat posed by Iraq. She says that there are dangers and that we must eliminate these weapons of mass destruction. But it gives the United Nations inspectors a process to go through diplomatically. It rejects the idea, though, of a unilateral, preemptive first strike in the absence of a verified imminent threat to the United States.

What it does not do, it does not limit the President's authority if we are in danger of a verified, imminent threat. It does not preclude pursuing other paths such as those proposed by the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT).

Let us make it clear, the Lee amendment simply says, let us push for peace, let us destroy those weapons of mass destruction if they are there; and we think they are, but let us give diplomacy a chance. Let us not be preemptive. Let us not use first strike. Let us try to see if, with our power, we can have peace through power.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON).

(Mrs. CLAYTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the amendment being offered by the gentlewoman from California entitled *The Alternative to War*. It could not be more aptly named. It seeks to commit the United States to fully engaging the diplomatic processes and to work multilaterally through the United Nations to achieve unfettered inspections of Iraq's chemical, biological and nuclear weapons capabilities, disarm and, indeed, dismantle.

There is no one in this Chamber who does not believe that the world would be better off without Saddam Hussein. But the President has not made a convincing case that the Hussein regime in Iraq indeed poses an immediate threat. In fact, our own intelligence experts tell us that the most likely threat of the use of such weapons of mass destruction by Iraq would occur if the United States invaded Iraq.

What that suggests is that we should not be authorizing the President to act unilaterally, sending our brave young men and women into harm's way. Indeed, the President has most recently said that war should be the last resort.

This amendment certainly puts peace first and puts war as a last resort. Support this amendment to the resolution.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. Cox).

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, it will reward us to read the resolution we are being

asked to vote upon. It is self-refuting. This resolution would have this Congress find that Iraq and Saddam Hussein unconditionally accepted U.N. Security Council Resolution 687, their obligation to destroy their chemical and biological weapons. That was unconditional.

The resolution has us find that Iraq unconditionally accepted its obligation not to proceed with the development of nuclear weapons. The resolution has us find that Iraq agreed to immediate and unconditional inspections.

The resolution goes on to have us find that Iraq has failed to comply with these obligations over a period of more than a decade. The resolution has us find that Iraq obstructed the inspectors and ultimately expelled them in 1998.

Finally, the resolution has us find that this noncompliance with the United Nations Security Council resolutions, including specifically Resolution 687, quote, "endangers U.S. security."

That is the preamble in this resolution. That is the predicate. Then what would the resolution have us do? Pass yet one more U.N. resolution which, by its terms, lacks enforcement. Only a U.N. resolution that lacks enforcement would be acceptable if we were to pass the resolution that is before us.

What have we learned in 11 years? Surely, without at least the threat of military force, we will get exactly the same result that we have had 16 times in a row. There is a cost, indeed a much heavier cost of doing nothing, of temporizing, of adding a 17th, toothless U.N. resolution to the 16 that Saddam Hussein has already violated.

And to the charge that what we are doing is unilateral, we must say, we have already earned the cooperation of Britain, Turkey, Canada, Poland, Romania, Israel, Bulgaria, Australia, Singapore, Japan and others. If we vote to deny the President of the United States the backing of this Congress at this moment and think that then he can win the support of other nations, we are delusional.

All of us must surely hope that the United Nations passes its next resolution, that Saddam Hussein will, this time, finally see reason and disarm. But as the proverb says, He who lives only by hope will die in despair.

My colleagues, let us unite hope with reason and practicality and a willingness to act. Let us defeat this resolution.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON).

(Mr. JACKSON of Illinois asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Lee amendment.

What is our goal? Our goal is to end the threat of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction through comprehensive and unfettered inspections and disable their ability to develop or deliver them.

How do we get there? Until the Lee amendment, most suggested, with a military stick. I think a carrot is more likely to succeed.

What carrot? The carrot of lifting economic sanctions on Iraq in exchange for comprehensive and unfettered inspections. Offering to lift economic sanctions in exchange for unfettered inspections will rally support within Iraq and among our allies.

This positive incentive to get Iraq to comply has not and is currently not being offered by the Congress of the United States. But until we make this overture and change our policy of only lifting economic sanctions after a regime change, we will not have exhausted all peaceful means and alternatives to force.

Give peace a chance, Mr. Speaker. Nonviolence, negotiations and inspections deserve a chance. Lift economic sanctions on the people of Iraq in exchange for unfettered inspections in Iraq. It will gain support within Iraq and amongst our allies.

I thank the gentlewoman for offering the amendment.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 seconds to the gentlewoman from the Virgin Islands (Mrs. CHRISTENSEN).

(Mrs. CHRISTENSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. CHRISTENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Lee amendment which would give the U.N. inspections process and multilateral diplomacy time and opportunity to work.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. HINCHEY).

Mr. HINCHEY. Mr. Speaker, the resolution before the House without the Lee amendment takes this country and the world on a dangerous and potentially tragic course.

It is so, first of all, because the resolution violates our own Constitution because it devolves war-making authority from the Congress to the executive branch. It also puts us in violation of our commitments to the United Nations.

But fundamentally it puts us on a dangerous and potentially tragic course because if we follow the resolution, if that resolution is prosecuted by the administration and attacks Iraq unilaterally, that action will galvanize the most fundamental, radical elements of Islam.

It strengthens Wahhabism and it will bring to their cause tens of thousands of new recruits who are prepared to wage war against this country in the way it was waged on September 11 of last year. That will be the end result of the passage and prosecution of the resolution, absent the Lee amendment.

We must pass this amendment.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON).

(Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)